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# SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION

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## CURRENT COMMENT

By FREDERIC HEATH

The Arizona state federation of labor has endorsed Socialism. Every little movement has a meaning all its own.

The third term idea doesn't seem to wash very well with Americans, even when the fellow to go up against that protective rule is the untried and untried idol of crafty exploiters.

The hammer is going it again in Brisbane hall! Tap, bang, tap, it goes, and down come walls that have only been standing a year or so. This tearing down is not reckless destruction by any means. It signifies growth. I'll tell you about it next week.

Standard Oil stock is said to be at the highest point in its history. This shows that regulation is a good thing for the wealth pirates, and that the blow the government struck the octopus by dividing it into imaginary small companies was really to keep the voters divided against their true interests. Ownership by the people is the only thing. There'll be no relief till we get to that.

The Countess of Warwick has reached our shores and will give lectures in various cities. She has lectured on suffrage and also on Socialism. She is a familiar figure as a public speaker for Socialism in England, and will doubtless be much in demand here, not only for the novelty of a countess being an outspoken Socialist, but also for the intrinsic value of her presentation of Socialism.

The paving graft in Schenectady has been hit by Paving Commissioner Mullen, who while in office in Milwaukee broke the asphalt ring and cut the cost of paving over a dollar a yard. The Socialist administration in Schenectady will doubtless repeat what was done by the Socialist administration in Milwaukee, all greatly to the chagrin and anguish of big business and its lying daily press.

I confess to some surprise that a paper like the Christian Science Monitor should devote so much space to lying about the local government in Milwaukee. You would expect that people who themselves had been lied about would be able to tell aliar when they see it. Yet the editor coolly accepts the rot sent out to the papers of the country by the plies about Milwaukee as undoubted facts. What is the matter? What is the explanation? Is the Monitor financed by capitalist interests? Or is the editor simply stupid?

An idea of the present status of the population of New York city may be had from the fact that the birth rate is about 11,000 a month and that of these 11,000 some 4,000 are foreign born. This means that 4,000 new mouths are added to the city every month. Many immigrants come from the most ignorant and superstitious regions of Europe, so that this country has an increasing job on its hands of taking the babies we get in this way and making them worthy to be a part of a country of mental freedom.

Well, what do you think of this? Here's one of the popular magazines, the beginning of another line of attack on the plutocracy. The magazine in question is Pearson's. The pamphlet is a reprint from its pages of Allan L. Johnson's magnificent article on "The Unhappy Power of the Courts." It is a pamphlet of 54 pages and sells for five cents. It deserves a wide sale. And also it deserves a wide sale to encourage this sort of venture on the part of the magazines. Watch the prediction, the Pearson's editorial, the other magazines that are printing articles of exposure.

A reader writes me to ask if it is true that Milwaukee Social Democrats forced the Republican and Democratic candidates to declare for the election next month, and save a man in his city despite the statement made to that effect. All that I can answer is that we have forced the two capitalist parties together, that they have put up a "non-partisan" ticket against us, and that the "non-partisan" ticket has been endorsed by the two old parties through their central organizations. More than this the name "non-partisan" is simply a blind, and the public are all bunched together in the Democratic column, while the Republican column is left as bare as a rooster's foot after the cops have made a decent upon it. The "non-partisan" city ticket is made up of one Republican and two Democrats.

Baden-Powell, founder of the boy scouts, says the movement instead of being in favor of militarism, is just the opposite. He says he is doing all he can to keep the boys free from blood-lust. There are undoubtedly good points in the boy scout idea, if only that it teaches the boys woodcraft and gets them out into the woods and fields.

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## Democracy Must Become Social-Democracy

By Victor L. Berger

News from German Reichstag

From time immemorial in all civilized countries there have been laws of a restraining nature. They were always based upon the principle that individuals must curb their powers, their passions, their desires whenever, by gratifying these, the interests of society as a whole might be injured.

Robbery, forgery, rape and arson are forbidden, because the commission of these crimes, if permitted, would prove injurious to the welfare of the people in general, though they might advance the interests of those committing them.

Let us suppose the case of a needy man who sees with in easy reach the wherewithal to satisfy his wants. All he has to do is to stretch out his hands to get it.

Yet he is not permitted to do so. The law stands before him with a solemn threat. It tells him that it is wiser and better for the welfare of the community that he should suffer—or even that he should perish—rather than that he should take things which do not belong to him.

At least this is the contention of the state in enforcing this regulation. It is for the welfare of the many, as opposed to that of the individual, that this particular citizen must restrain his desires, sometimes even his hunger.

In other words, the first law of nature—that of personal self-preservation—is made subordinate to the code of laws which has been adopted for the preservation of society as a whole. A man who is starving cannot even steal a loaf of bread to preserve his life, because stealing is supposed to be destructive to society.

The principle is clearly established and recognized that individual interests—no matter how pressing—should not in any case supersede general interests.

And yet how limited is the application of this excellent principle of restriction.

The law which prohibits the gratification of the poor man's hunger at the expense of his neighbor, to be logical, should prohibit the gratification of the rich man's greed at the expense of his neighbors.

If it is just and politic that individuals should be

restrained whenever their actions tend to affect adversely the morals and welfare of the community or of the nation—then certainly a check should also be imposed on those who, by accumulation of wealth far beyond their needs, are instrumental in producing poverty and the crimes and vices which are the results of poverty.

If personal self-gratification and even personal self-preservation must make way for social preservation, then it should be required that the opulent surrender their riches in order to save the social organization.

If the principle of restriction for the general good is one whose application is essential to the welfare of the commonwealth, then even the power of indulging the passion of greed for moderate wealth, which might inflict injury on others, should be absolutely curbed.

There is a strange power wherein gold is drawn toward gold. The greater the accumulation, the greater the attraction.

There are a number of men in our country who annually add millions to their possessions. If the same process of accumulation were applied to land—and there is no law to forbid it—it is evident that a man acquiring a title to several million acres every year need only live long enough to become possessed of the earth. Considering the vast holdings of certain Americans now—and their strenuous efforts to add to these and the power thus obtained—there is no reason why a few men in our generation should not combine and form a powerful trust of trusts—compared with which the power of the Kaiser of Germany would sink to insignificance.

As it is now, our trust magnates—in spite of all the efforts of Roosevelt and Bryan and Taft—constitute a power in our public and private and social life which renders ridiculous all the pretensions of a republic of citizens "free and equal."

While we have a democracy in name, we live in a plutocracy in fact.

But how long will it last?

For let it not be thought that the lessons of the past are completely forgotten.

On the contrary. The history of the future can to no

small extent be read in the pages of the past.

The princes and popes of the past claimed their power and their authority from God. If these princes, nobles and priests had their prerogatives curtailed in spite of their claim that these prerogatives were of divine origin, can our plutocrats expect that their power, that their prerogatives will last forever?

Or do they mean to say that the forward march of Democracy, which did not halt before the crown and the tiara—that the Democracy, which rebelled against the "holiness" of the cross and the cassock, will now bow down before the unholy power of the money bag?

And what did it profit to restrict the prerogatives of rulers and the privileges of nobles and of the clergy, as long as the privileges of wealth remain intact?

Distributing votes and concentrating wealth did not fulfill the promises of Democracy.

A score of men in our great country enjoy privileges, and have a power for wealth and for woe—political, financial and social—greater than the privileges and powers of the millions of the masses combined.

Call this state of things whatever you will, but you cannot call it Democracy. Claim for it what advantage you please, but you cannot claim that it is advantageous to the masses of the nation.

The principle which should guide our government—the principle which should guide every honest government—of subordinating the individual to the general welfare—requires a broader application than it receives at present.

If a man is not allowed to steal a loaf of bread from others to satisfy his hunger, then a man ought not to be allowed to steal a million loaves from others and steal them every day to satisfy his greed.

We have solved the problem of production, we must solve the problem of distribution—or our civilization will break down.

In short, our present Democracy cannot defend its very name against the encroachment of plutocracy. And what is worse, it cannot defend its very existence on the ground of equity, of morality, or even of expediency—unless it becomes Social-Democracy.

On February 14 the Social-Democratic party in the Reichstag introduced a number of motions. These are divided into two groups—political, dealing for the most part with the extension of the rights of the Reichstag, and those of a social-political nature. Among the first are: The introduction in all the federal states of adult suffrage; consent of the Reichstag to be necessary to any declaration of war; responsibility of the imperial chancellor to the Reichstag; this responsibility to include all political acts or omissions on the part of the Kaiser; the chancellor to resign at the demand of the Reichstag; the Reichstag to have power to appoint commissions to investigate facts; members of the Reichstag to have the right to refuse to testify as to facts confided to them in their capacity as deputies, and objects confided to them in this capacity to be immune from confiscation; some alterations in the clause of the penal code concerning the immunity of deputies. Among the social-political demands are the following: Eight hours normal working day, or six hours in those industries under ground where the temperature exceeds 29 degrees Celsius; appointment of an imperial board to examine into causes of accidents in mines and to institute preventive measures; such board to include representatives chosen by the miners; introduction of a bill for the protection of theatrical, musical and other artists and employees; protection of workers in the glass industry; introduction of a bill for various reforms in the pension laws; introduction of a housing bill.

On February 15 further motions were introduced, of which the principal were as follows: Abolition of taxation on manure, petroleum and salt. This is to be superseded by an imperial income-tax on all incomes over 600 marks (\$1500), or death duty on inheritances of over 20,000 marks; facilitation of the importation of meat; compulsory insurance against epidemics among cattle; utilization of education throughout the empire; on a free and secular basis; introduction of a bill for the protection of foremen and similar officials and the safeguarding of their right of coalition; regulations for the protection of tramway men, workers in chemical industries, workers in foundries, forges, and other places in proximity to factories; further the demand for the introduction of a bill abolishing all the limitations of the right of public assembly contained in the Reichsgesetz of April 19, 1908 (for instance, the prohibition to speak any language other than German, etc.); reform of the penal code.

There is further a demand that the Reichstag will request the federal governments to introduce a bill regarding the regulation of the working hours of women and children and the regulation of the agreements between them and the employers should be codified and brought under one unified "Arbeitsrecht" (right of labor). There are also demands for state arbitration courts in industrial disputes, to which all persons are to be subject who are not already subject to the decisions of the Gewerkschaften (industrial councils); for laws binding to the trade union unemployment insurance; for state labor bureaus; for the unification throughout the whole empire of the regulations governing mines; for the abolition of the ill-famed "Gesamtdarlegung" (a reactionary law which prevents the free movement of country workers and servants in some parts of Germany and keeps them in a position resembling serfdom); to be superseded by regulations for the protection of country workers; for a clause in the domestic labor law dealing with the introduction of wage commissions; and finally, for the introduction of a bill for the unification throughout the whole empire of the regulations for the safety of building workers—Justice.

## Milwaukee Campaign Waxes Warm

A Campaign Debate

The Senator Gaylord-City Attorney Daniel W. Hoan combination proved a little too well versed in the material facts at hand, in straight argument, in repartee, sarcasm and oratorical ability for Lester C. Manson of the Taxpayers' League and William J. Kershaw in the debate before the Westminster Civic League at Westminster church, Farwell avenue and Bellevue place, Thursday night, on the question, "Resolved, That the best interests of Milwaukee will be served most effectively by the success of the 'non-partisan' movement."

Gaylord and Hoan ripped the arguments of their adversaries to pieces, combatted their attempts to belittle the work of the administration by misleading statements and figures, and met the personalities of Mr. Manson in a manner that will make him think twice at any future date before attempting such tactics again.

Mr. Manson came in, armed with figures on the salaries and expenses of the various departments of the city government, showing the increases over the last year of the Ross regime. But he forgot to include what those expenses were for, or the amount of work that was being done in the departments to show that the taxpayers were getting much greater value received for every dollar spent than ever in the history of the city. He insisted that in the department of public works there were 27 clerks, where in 1908 there were but 17, and pointed out that several former departments of city activity had been taken into the department of public works and that it was saving the city hundreds of thousands of dollars annually by the new system.

Manson is Challenged. And when, in his rebuttal, Mr. Manson declared that the 14 Socialists in the state legislature at the last session were guilty of idling votes, Mr. Gaylord challenged him to prove his statements.

Mr. Manson accused me of trading votes. That is an offense for which I can be indicted under the Wisconsin statute. Now you start something! Make good or shut up!

Mr. Manson blushed, his red cheeks losing every tint of color. The crowd was quiet for an instant. Then it broke into uproarious applause. It was the climax of a situation which seemed to be with the Socialists, except during the few minutes Mr. Manson was triumphantly rearing his figure.

Probably the reason for the success of the campaign of 27 by Mr. Gaylord had as much to do with rounding the figure of Mr. Manson as anything that occurred. Mr. Gaylord was forgetting the name of Mr. Manson when he came to it on the list.

Is a "Non-partisan." "I believe in non-partisanship, in municipal affairs," said Mr. Manson in opening, "because under the old system voters are lined up on national issues; because there is no relation between the tariff and the collection of garbage, between the money problem

and paving, because it is an illogical division. Sanitation, local transportation facilities, adequate fire and police protection are of such importance that the duty on food and clothes.

Gives Salary List. Mr. Manson then went into his salary report of the various departments of the city administration as reported to him by an expert accountant. These figures, given by him are merely on the salaries, without one word of explanation to show why and where they went.

Hoan Wades In. Hoan waded in, Manson's figures from the jump. Unprepared on all the departments he illustrated from his own department first.

You admit, Mr. Manson, that you can't get good lawyers to stay in a department for less than \$3,000 a year? he asked, to which Mr. Manson agreed.

The city government has got to fight our battles. In my department the expenses have increased \$3,352. I advocated this increase of my own accord, not for myself but for my assistants. I wanted men who would stay with me the entire four years. In the last five years settlements have aggregated \$42,000 a year. Last year, with my assistants, we made settlements of only \$5,000. Was it wrong to pay good men with this result? I started in office there were \$500,000 in damage suits pending which had been holding over some as long as 16 and 17 years. We have settled the greater part of these at a loss of but 5 per cent.

To Preserve Health.

The health department has added 10 inspectors, making one for every ward. I believe, as Mr. Manson does, that the public health is the most important thing with which we have to deal. Sanitary inspectors have also been appointed. The department is doing more than double the work ever accomplished by it before.

The comptroller's office cost a little more for help. But it was well paid. That extra \$5,000 has given the city an inventory, something it never had before. A good politician, without an inventory, could steal more in 15 minutes than the extra cost.

Mr. Manson points to our terrible appointments. No doubt it was an outrage when we turned out a bunch of the Ross henchmen. To hear these gentlemen talk you would think they were all honest. Now, what are the facts? In the treasurer's department Mr. Drew, not a Socialist, was named chief deputy. The same is true of the water department, the smoke inspector, building inspector's office. In my department not a man is a Socialist. In the city engineer's office only one man was let go. Out of 1,000 men under

Mr. Briggs has fired but 50. If I had been in his place I would have fired a great many more than 50. The whole thing has been canned.

Most all commissions appointed have been non-Socialists. Every man let out deserved it. Fully 97 per cent of the men in office when the Socialists took hold were retained. This is a somewhat different spirit than the declaration of Dr. Bading who from the platform the other night said: "If we get in every Social-Democrat will have to walk the plank."

It is true that every man sent down by the civil service board was not accepted by us. Why should they be? The civil service board was a Ross machine, until we got enough appointments on it to pack it out. They sent men down to us because they were Ross men. We appointed our men because we knew them, knew them to be honest, and an honest machinist is much better in office than a henchman of a corrupt politician. If we wanted jobs for all the Social-Democrats we could have found them. It is easy to find an excuse to let a man out.

Mr. Hoan refuted the arguments of Mr. Manson in regard to national politics, showing the national questions that have become a part of municipal life, such as transportation, street car service, water by national syndicates, telephone service, the cost of living.

Corruptors Still Busy.

The elements that have corrupted politics in the past are still here, and they reach all the way back to Wall street," he said. "The interests want cheap officials because they can control them. Both government in the past has been due to the special interests. Nothing but a party such as the Social-Democrats will ever give you efficient government. If you want a campaign fund you have got to solicit it, have got to go to the Merchants and Manufacturers' association to get your donations, and

Mr. Manson should know it. It takes money to conduct a campaign. It takes money to get up an audit that Mr. Manson has responded here. Somebody has got to pay for it. And those people who donate have got to be served. You have got to satisfy the interests that help you.

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Fifth Ward—Fred Radenski  
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Seventh Ward—John A. Knocka  
Eighth Ward—John Brosn

In town of Sheboygan Falls the Social-Democrats have nominated the following ticket:

(Chairman, J. C. Boll; August Harde H. A. Hahlhorst; clerk, O. A. Dauror assessor, W. C. Dammor; treasurer, I. W. Brecher; justice, J. H. the peace, F. Huber; Luther Hammer; constable, H. Harde, J. H. Sverzin.

**WORKMEN**

them look solid. We give it in black this week so that it may show properly. The black portions represent the Social-Democratic territory, the election and it is expected that there will be some surprises at hand this spring. The party will have three large mass meetings in various halls of the city before the election. The

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